

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
ICA-11 ACDA-12 SMS-01 IO-13 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-08  
/111 W

-----043542 111340Z /45

R 111228Z AUG 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5428  
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
USMISSION USNATO  
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 19145

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: UR, CH, RO, KN, YO, JA, PEPR  
SUBJECT: SOVIET MFA OFFICIAL ON SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS,  
PFT, OTHER TOPICS

REF: MOSCOW 18403

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SUMMARY: SOVIET MFA CHINA SPECIALIST STATES SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS IN "PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL" AREAS ARE DETERIORATING; CHARGES PEKING WITH WHIPPING UP ALARM OVER SOVIET MILITARY INTENTIONS TO BUTTRESS ITS CASE FOR ARMS PURCHASES IN THE WEST; REGISTERS HARD LINE ON SINO-JAPANESE PFT NEGOTIATIONS; HOLDS DATES FOR KIM IL-SONG'S VISIT

TO MOSCOW HAVE NOT BEEN DECIDED; AND REPEATS SOVIET LINE THAT MOSCOW IS NOT CONCERNED WITH CHINESE RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA AS LONG AS THEY REMAIN IN BILATERAL CONTEXT. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING AUGUST 10 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, SOVIET MFA FIRST FAR EASTERN DEPT. COUNSELOR (CHINA) YURIY ALEKSANDROVICH ARKHAROV DISCUSSED SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS AND CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH JAPAN, KOREA AND EASTERN EUROPE. HIS COMMENTS ON TAIWAN WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL.

2. SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS: ARKHAROV SAID THAT INTER-GOVERNMENTAL TIES REMAIN AS BEFORE. AN AGREEMENT RAISING TRADE BACK TO "PREVIOUS LEVELS" HAS BEEN SIGNED. SINO-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS, ALTHOUGH "NOT VERY PLEASANT," CONTINUE. HE SAID THAT VIRTUALLY NO PROGRESS WAS MADE DURING IL'ICHEV'S PEKING TALKS AND STRESSED THAT THE USSR CAN NEVER ACCEPT CHINA'S "DISPUTED AREAS" POSITION. HOWEVER, HE ADDED, THERE HAS BEEN A DETERIORATION IN THE "PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL" ASPECTS OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS. ARKHAROV SAID THAT HUANG HUA'S SPEECH AT THE UNSSOD INDICATED A SLIGHT DROP IN PRC ANTI-SOVIET RHETORIC. HOWEVER, SINCE THEN THE PRC HAS STEPPED UP ITS ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA. AS REFLECTED IN PRC DEFENSE MINISTER

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HSU'S RED FLAG ARTICLE AND STATEMENTS BY TENG HSIAO-PING, THE CHINESE HAVE SHIFTED THEIR MAIN EMPHASIS TO WAR THEMES, WITH EMPHASIS ON THE SOVIET MILITARY THREAT TO CHINA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD. THE SOVIET UNION, AS REFLECTED IN THE RECENT ALEKSANDROV ARTICLE, HAS RESPONDED. THE PRC IS ALSO INCREASING THE ANTI-SOVIET CONTENT OF ITS INCREASINGLY ACTIVE FOREIGN POLICY. SMILING, HE ADDED THAT "OUR STRONG NERVES" CAN BEAR THIS INTENSIFICATION OF PRC ANTI-SOVIET RHETORIC AND FOREIGN POLICY MOVES. SOVIET POLICY CONTINUES ALONG TWO TRACKS, HE SAID: (A) IN CONFORMITY WITH BREZHNEV'S TWENTY-FIFTH PARTY CONGRESS STATEMENT, A CONSTANT READINESS TO DEVELOP SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS, AND (B) A DETERMINATION TO REBUT PRC ATTACKS ON THE SOVIET UNION.

3. RESPONDING TO A QUESTION ON PRC MOTIVES, ARKHAROV STATED THAT INTENSIFICATION OF PRC'S ANTI-SOVIET WAR RHETORIC AND DIPLOMACY ARE PART OF PEKING'S GENERAL EFFORT TO PLAY THE "WESTERN CARD." JUST AS FIGURES IN THE WEST ARE ATTEMPTING TO PLAY THE

"CHINA CARD," THE CHINESE ARE BUILDING UP WAR HYSTERIA TO JUSTIFY THEIR ACQUISITION OF ARMS FROM THE WEST, AS WELL AS TO PROPEL OTHER NATIONS INTO ANTI-SOVIET POSITIONS. HE REPEATED THE SOVIET LINE THAT WESTERN NATIONS, INCLUDING THE U.S., WILL ALSO SUFFER IN THE LONG RUN FROM COLLUDING WITH PEKING, ESPECIALLY IF THEY CONTRIBUTE TO CHINA'S WAR-MAKING POTENTIAL.

4. SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS: ARKHAROV, LIKE SOVIET MFA JAPAN DESK OFFICER ABDURAZAKOV IN AUG. 2 CONVERSATION (REFTEL), REFUSED TO SPECULATE ON PROSPECTS FOR PFT TALKS. HE REPEATED SOVIET WARNING THAT THE

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SOVIET REACTION WOULD BE "EXTREMELY NEGATIVE" IF JAPAN ACCEPTS CHINESE TERMS. THE JAPANESE HAVE BEEN WARNED MANY TIMES ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION'S POSITION,

HE SAID. EMBOFF NOTED THAT WESTERN AND JAPANESE NEWSPAPERS ARE SPECULATING THE JAPANESE ARE PROPOSING WORDING SPECIFYING THAT TREATY IS DIRECTED AT NO PARTICULAR COUNTRY. ARKHAROV ANSWERED THAT A TREATY INCLUDING THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE WOULD BE A "DANGEROUS PRECEDENT" FOR BOTH INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES AND "GROUPS" OF COUNTRIES. HE THEN OUTLINED AT  
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SOME LENGTH CONTINUING PROBLEMS JAPANESE ARE HAVINGK WITH TIAATY, CONCLUDING THAT SOVIETS ARE TAKING A "WAIT AND SEE" ATTITUDE TOWWJD SONODA-HUA PFT TALKS IN PEKING (ARKHAROV'S APPARENT OPPOSITION TO ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE EVEN IF "THIRD COUNTRY" WORDING IS INSERTED IS NOTEWORTHY, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD NOT PREDICT THAT THIS HARD LINE IN PRIVATE WILL BE FOLLOWED BY MOSCOW PUBLICLY IF AND WHEN THE PFT IS SIGNED. WE ALSO NOTE THAT, LIKE ABDURAZAKOV LAST WEEK, ARKHAROV'S SEEMINGLY LOW KEY TREATMENT OF RESUMED PFT NEGOTIATIONS EVINced A DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE THAT JAPAN WILL NOT GIVE IN TO PRC TERMS. SOVIET CENTRAL PRESS COVERAGE OF PFT TALKS, EVEN AFTER SONODA'S PEKING ARRIVAL, LIKEWISE REMAINS LOW KEY. TWO DIFFERENT TASS ARTICLES APPEARING IN PRAVDA AUGUST 9 AND 10 MERELY NOTE SONODA TALKS IN PEKING AND THEY SELECTIVELY QUOTE FROM JAPANESE PRESS REPORTS AND STATEMENTS BY LDP LEADERS URGING JAPANESE CAUTION AND RESISTANCE TO CHINESE TERMS).

5. SINO-DPRK-SOVIET RELATIONS: ARKHAROV PLAYED DOWN SIGNIFICANCE OF NORTH KOREAN PRESS' PRINTING OF PRC DEFENSE MINISTER HSU'S RECENT SPEECH AND APPARENT DPRK "TILT" TOWARD KAMPUCHEA IN KAMPUCHEAN-VIETNAM CONFLICT. HE SAID THAT PYONGYANG HAS NOT TAKEN A STAND ON THE KAMPUCHEAN-VIETNAM BORDER ISSUE. THE NORTH KOREANS HAVE IN THE PAST VARIED THEIR POSTURE TOWARD MOSCOW AND PEKING FOR "TEMPORARY" PERIODS, BUT IN THE LONG RUN HAVE REVERTED TO PREVIOUS APPROACH OF NOT ALIENATING EITHER. THE TIMING FOR KIM IL-SONG'S VISIT TO MOSCOW HAS NOT BEEN DECIDED, HE STATED.

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6. PRC RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE: PEKING IS ATTEMPTING TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH ALL EASTERN

EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, MOST EE LEADERS SEE NO "BASIS" FOR IMPROVED TIES. HE REPEATED SOVIET LINE THAT MOSCOW DOES NOT OPPOSE PEKING'S IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH THIRD COUNTRIES, SUCH AS ROMANIA, YUGOSLAVIA AND THE DPRK, AS LONG AS THEY REMAIN IN A BILATERAL CONTEXT. HE ANTICIPATED THAT HUA KUO-FENG WILL NOT CRITICIZE THE SOVIET UNION WHEN IN ROMANIA OR YUGOSLAVIA. HE CRITICIZED PRC FOR ABANDONING ITS ECONOMIC PROGRAMS IN ALBANIA, WHILE NOTING THAT ALBANIA'S NEGATIVE POSTURE TOWARD THE USSR HAS NOT CHANGED, DESPITE THE FALLOUT WITH CHINA. TOON

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## Message Attributes

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